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## Chapter 2: The metaphorical landscape

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### 2.1 Introduction

Work on the human conceptualization of landscape has tended to focus on the well-known LANDSCAPE IS A BODY metaphor, which occurs in so many of the world's languages that it may plausibly be considered a linguistic universal. Porteous (1986: 2) argues convincingly that 'The metaphorical use of body imagery in relation to landscape is fundamental in the Western world', but even this may be an understatement, since similar imagery is also prevalent in non-Western languages. Aftab and Beeler identify 'sites named for parts of the human or animal body' as one of six subdivisions of descriptive place-names in American Indian languages (1996: 189), citing representative examples from Aleut, Barbareño Chumash, Carrier, Karok, Koyukon, Kwakiutl, Nez Perce, Tanaina, and Ventureño Chumash (1996: 192). Hercus (2009: 277–9) discusses the use of body terms for desert features in the extinct Australian aboriginal language Wangkangurru, and Morris (2012: 51–2) illustrates skeletal and bone-related metaphors in Mongolian naming practices. As in these examples, much of the evidence comes from place-names, particularly for prehistoric languages or early stages of modern languages. One of the most comprehensive analyses of anatomical imagery is Drummond's (1992: 85–94) catalogue of body parts in Gaelic hill names in Scotland, while Gelling's ground-breaking study of topographical terms in Anglo-Saxon place-names included a small selection of such terms but omitted for reasons of space others such as Old English (OE) *bile* 'beak', *brægen* 'top of the head', *bru* 'brow', *ears* 'buttock', *hals* and *sweora* 'neck', *horn* 'horn', *tunge* 'tongue', and *wrot* 'snout' (1984: 124).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Later editions of both books omit the sections cited.

However, recent research has identified differences between uses of terms in names and in lexis, raising doubts as to how far name evidence can be applied to ordinary language (see e.g. Durkin 2009: 266–83; Hough 2010). Moreover, the body metaphor appears to be more systematic in some languages than in others, and its very ubiquity may have diverted attention from other, less prominent conceptualizations. The aim of this chapter is to identify the full range of landscape metaphors in English, and to investigate their motivation. Until now, there has been no way of doing so, as a comprehensive dataset was not available. This gap has now been filled by the Mapping Metaphor project. Drawing on the entire recorded vocabulary of English as represented in the Historical Thesaurus of English database, the project first divided semantic space into categories such as Plants, Pride, and Politics, and then used automated routines to identify words occurring in more than one category. Finally, all such instances of overlap were analyzed manually in order to isolate those motivated by metaphor as opposed to homonymy, metonymy, non-metaphorical polysemy, and so on. The project can thus offer a more comprehensive picture than has previously been possible. The main focus in this chapter is on terms within the Mapping Metaphor category 1A05 ‘Landscape, high and low land’. As with many other categories, however, this has fuzzy boundaries with those on either side, so data from 1A04 ‘Land and islands’ and 1A06 ‘Level land and marshes’ will also be drawn on where appropriate.

## **2.2 Landscape metaphors in the Historical Thesaurus**

The Historical Thesaurus presents the entire contents of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (second edition), organized conceptually rather than alphabetically. Since OED only includes Old English material that continued in use after 1150, it is supplemented by the contents of *A Thesaurus of Old English* (Roberts and Kay 2000). The two datasets were analyzed separately by the Mapping Metaphor project to prevent any patterns specific to the Old English corpus

from being obscured by the much more extensive later data. The present chapter retains the distinction between Old English data from TOE, and post-Old English data from OED.

The Mapping Metaphor category ‘Landscape, high and low land’ overlaps with 123 categories in the Old English dataset, and with 382 categories in the post-Old English dataset. Of these, 15 and 74 respectively were identified as metaphorical, with some being coded as Strong (S) and others as Weak (W). In total, 77 category connections are coded as metaphorical in either or both sets of data, as set out in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Categories with which the Mapping Metaphor category 1A05 ‘Landscape, high and low land’ has metaphorical connections

<b>Category</b>	<b>Old English data: Strong (S) or Weak (W) connection</b>	<b>Post-Old English data: Strong (S) or Weak (W) connection</b>	<b>1A05 Source (S) or Target (T)</b>
1A13 Tides, waves and flooding	W	S	S + T
1A28 Atmosphere and weather	—	S	S
1B10 Bodily shape and physique	—	W	S
1B11 Body parts	S	S	T
1B12 Skin	—	S	S
1B13 Hair	—	S	T
1B15 Bones, muscles and cartilage	S	S	T
1B16 Sense and speech organs	—	W	T
1B17 Internal organs	W	—	T

1B18 Digestive organs	S	S	T
1B23 Vascular system	—	W	T
1B24 The brain and nervous system	—	W	S
1C02 Ill-health	S	S	T + S
1E04 Animal bodies	—	S	T
1E08 Reptiles	—	W	T
1E15 Horses and elephants	—	W	T
1F01 Plants	W	W	S + T
1F05 Cultivated plants	—	W	T
1G01 Food and eating	—	S	T
1G02 Drinks and drinking	—	S	T
1H01 Textiles	—	S	T
1H02 Clothing	W	S	T
1J03 Weight, heat and cold	—	W	T + S
1J11 Softness	—	W	T
1K01 Existence and its attributes	—	S	S + T
1K03 Destruction	—	W	S
1K04 Causation	S	—	S
1L01 Space	—	W	S
1L03 Size and spatial extent	—	S	S
1L04 Shape	W	S	S + T
1L06 Relative position	—	S	S
1M08 Suitability of time	—	W	S

1N04 Rate of movement and swift movement	—	W	T
1N06 Movement in a specific direction	—	S	S
1O10 Endeavour	—	W	S
1O11 Difficulty	S	S	S
1O16 Prosperity and success	—	S	S
1O17 Disadvantage and harm	—	S	S
1O20 Vigorous action and degrees of violence	—	S	S
1O22 Behaviour and conduct	—	S	S + T
1P06 Difference	—	W	S
1P16 Sequence	—	S	S
1P18 Mathematics	—	S	S + T
1P28 Greatness and intensity	—	W	S
1P30 Increase in quantity	—	W	S
1P33 Decrease in quantity	—	W	S
1Q01 Supernatural	—	W	T
1Q06 Hell	S	W	S + T
2A22 Truth and falsity	—	W	S
2B02 Enquiry and discovery	—	W	S
2B10 Tastelessness	—	W	S
2B12 Beauty and ugliness	—	W	S
2C01 Good	—	S	S

2C02 Bad	—	W	S
2D02 Strong emotion and lack of emotion	—	W	S
2D06 Emotional suffering	—	S	S
2D14 Pride	—	W	S
2D15 Humility	—	W	T
2D17 Courage	—	W	T
2E03 Willingness and desire	—	W	S
2E05 Decision-making	—	W	S
2F11 Providing and storing	—	W	S
3A06 Social communication and culture	—	W	S
3A07 Solitude and social isolation	—	W	S
3A09 Social position	—	W	T
3B02 Buildings and inhabited places	W	S	T + S
3C03 Weapons and armour	W	—	T
3D01 Command and control	—	S	T
3D03 Politics	—	W	S
3G01 Education	—	W	S
3I03 Signs and signals	—	W	T
3I14 Correspondence and telecommunications	—	W	T

3J04 Navigation	—	W	S
3K05 Containers	S	S	T
3M06 Literature	—	W	S
3M07 Performance arts and film	—	S	T + S
3M08 Sport	—	W	T

As shown in the final column of Table 2.1, ‘Landscape, high and low land’ is the source category for 39 of the 77 metaphorical connections, and the target category for another 27. The remaining 11 are bidirectional: these are indicated by a plus sign, with the earlier or principal link shown first. This chapter will attempt to identify the main metaphors represented, beginning with the most prominent, and then moving on to those that emerge only through close analysis of the data.

## 2.3 The conceptualization of landscape

This section deals primarily with links where ‘Landscape, high and low land’ is the target category, reflecting the domains on which the conceptualization of landscape in English draws.

### 2.3.1 LANDSCAPE IS A BODY

As expected, the most common metaphor represented in the data is LANDSCAPE IS A BODY. This is reflected in links between ‘Landscape, high and low land’ and 15 other categories, seven of which are coded Strong in either or both sets of data. The links are set out in Table 2.2, with sample lexemes from both Old English and later stages of English.

Table 2.2: Categories providing evidence of LANDSCAPE IS A BODY metaphor



Category	Sample OE lexemes	Sample post-OE lexemes
1B10 Bodily shape and strength	—	<i>scragged, swamp</i>
1B11 Body parts	<i>hoh</i> ‘heel, hill’; <i>side</i> ‘side, hillside’; <i>sweora</i> ‘neck, neck of land’; <i>heafod</i> ‘head, source’; <i>hrycg</i> ‘back, ridge’	<i>gorge, gowl, gullet, knee,</i> <i>neck, shoulder, thigh</i>
1B12 Skin	—	<i>bald, monticule, pit</i>
1B13 Hair	—	<i>bald, brow</i>
1B15 Bones, muscles and cartilage	<i>hrycg</i> ‘spine, ridge’	<i>knee, shoulder, spine</i>
1B16 Sense and speech organs	—	<i>mouth</i>
1B17 Internal organs	<i>wamb</i> ‘abdomen, hollow’	—
1B18 Digestive organs	<i>wamb</i> ‘stomach, hollow’; <i>ceole</i> ‘throat, gorge’	<i>gorge, gully, mouth</i>
1B23 Vascular system	—	<i>sinus</i>
1B24 The brain and nervous system	—	<i>valley</i>
1C02 Ill-health	<i>pytt</i> ‘pustule, pit’; <i>walu</i> ‘weal, ridge’	<i>knoll, mamelon, pit, pustule</i>
1E04 Animal bodies	—	<i>horn, hump, razor-back,</i> <i>snout</i>
1E08 Reptiles	—	<i>turtle-back</i>

1E15 Horses and elephants	—	<i>horse-back, saddle-back</i>
2B12 Beauty and ugliness	—	<i>waterfall</i>

In general, dates of attestation are significantly earlier for the anatomical senses, confirming ‘Landscape, high and low land’ as the target category. However, there is also evidence of bidirectionality, suggesting that the metaphorical pathway is so well established as to allow transfer in both directions. I have argued elsewhere that the anatomical sense of *bottom* results from back formation (Hough 2010: 13), but it is clear from the Mapping Metaphor data that this is far from being an isolated occurrence. Under 1C02 ‘Ill-health’, for instance, the expected direction of metaphorical transfer is evidenced by *pustule*, recorded from a1398 as ‘raised lesion of the skin’, but from 1849–1861 in a transferred sense ‘small mound’.<sup>2</sup> However, the reverse applies to *knoll*, with the sense ‘summit or rounded top of a mountain or hill’ recorded from Old English (OE *cnoll*), but ‘swelling upon the skin’ from 1499. Similarly *mamelon* ‘a rounded eminence or hillock’ is recorded from 1830, deriving from French *mamelon* ‘rounded hill’, with the ‘tubercle’ sense from 1872. Under 1B10 ‘Bodily shape and strength’, *scragged* is recorded from 1519 in the sense of ‘rugged ground’, but begins to be used of a ‘scragged and knotty Backbone’ from 1693, while under 1B24 ‘The brain and nervous system’, *valley* is recorded from 1297, with an anatomical use referring to part of the brain developing in the mid-nineteenth century. ‘Landscape, high and low land’ is the target category for links with 1B13 ‘Hair’, but the source category for the use of *waterfall* with reference to a hairstyle in 2B12 ‘Beauty and ugliness’.

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<sup>2</sup> Here and throughout this chapter, dates, definitions, and quotations are from OED online, which (subscription permitting) can be accessed either directly or through the Metaphor Map at <http://mappingmetaphor.arts.gla.ac.uk/>.

While compelling in themselves, the Mapping Metaphor data can be supplemented by evidence from other sources. As indicated in Section 2.1, additional examples of the LANDSCAPE IS A BODY metaphor are found in place-names. Thus OE *bæc* ‘back’ is used topographically of a ridge in place-names and charter bounds (Parsons and Styles 1997: 55–57, s.v. *bæc*; DOE s.v. *bæc*<sup>1</sup> sense 4), paralleling the attested uses of its synonym OE *hrycg*. So too, OE *fōt* ‘foot’ refers to ‘land at the mouth of a stream’ in place-names such as Beckfoot (Smith 1956, i: 185). Further evidence comes from other language varieties. Scots *scaur* ‘sheer rock, precipice’ (1721) develops a metaphorical sense ‘gullet, throat’ by the early twentieth century in the phrase *red sker* (DSL, s.v. *scaur* n.<sup>1</sup>). Indeed, further support comes from the wider Mapping Metaphor project. Whereas Table 2.2 shows only categorial links with ‘Landscape, high and low land’, the same metaphor is reflected in links between other categories. Links with ‘Land and islands’ include 1B12 ‘Skin’ (*sward*), 1B13 ‘Hair’ (*callow*), and 1E04 ‘Animal bodies’ (*tail*). ‘Level land and marshes’ also has metaphorical links with ‘Ill-health’ (*gouty*, *spewing*), 1B14 ‘Bodily tissue’ (*foggy*, *quaggy*), 1B20 ‘Bodily excretion’ (*mire*, *fen*), and ‘Vascular system’ (*plateau*). Further links occur between 1A09 ‘Rivers and streams’ and ‘Vascular system’ (OE *ædre* ‘vein, water-course’), and between 1B11 ‘Body parts’ and 1L06 ‘Relative position’ (OE *andwlita* ‘face, surface (of the earth)’). Notable too are bidirectional links between ‘Hair’ and 1F01 ‘Plants’, where OE *feax* ‘hair’ develops a meaning ‘shrub/bush’, and OE *hriseht* ‘bushy’ develops a meaning ‘hairy’.

This weight of evidence militates strongly against Lakoff and Johnson’s statement that:

Examples like the *foot* of the mountain are idiosyncratic, unsystematic, and isolated. They do not interact with other metaphors, play no particularly interesting role in our conceptual system, and hence are not metaphors that we live by. (1980: 55)

Although challenged by Kay (2000: 275 n.8), their view has been so influential that Geeraerts's solution is to propose an extension of the semasiological meaning of *foot*, without questioning the underlying premise:

Taking into account the semasiological structure of expressions in this way would have an additional advantage. The interpretation of an expression such as *the foot of the mountain* need not have a recourse to a general metaphor A MOUNTAIN IS A PERSON, which explains no other metaphoric expressions (as Lakoff and Johnson admit): there would just be an extension of the semasiological structure of *foot*, whereas the meaning of *mountain* could be left for what it is. In particular, it need not be personalized. (2010: 210)

However, such examples are clearly far from being either idiosyncratic or isolated. Indeed, given that they extend to both the external and internal body, human and animal, with many more lexemes than can be included in Table 2.2, the conceptual links would appear to be particularly well developed. Nevertheless, it is true that the metaphor is less systematic than in some of the languages mentioned in Section 2.1. This seems partly to be because the motivations are more disparate. Whereas the skeletal metaphors discussed by Morris form part of a gendered landscape reflecting the way in which 'for the Mongols, bone is directly associated with patrilineity and descent through the father' (2012: 52), here a wider variety of motivations is in play. The most prominent is shape, as in several of the examples discussed above, and in others such as *horn*, *hump*, and *knee*. Position is also important, with the *brow* of a hill situated higher than the *shoulder* or *foot*. Texture motivates the use of OE *feax* 'hair' in the transferred sense 'shrub/bush', while the use of *mouth* for a river confluence is, as Kay

(2000: 275) observes, based on ‘its function as an orifice’. Indeed, a single lexeme may reflect more than one motivation, as with *thigh*, where the 1889 quotation in OED shows that the transferred sense ‘lower slopes of a mountain’ is motivated by both position and bulk: ‘The burly thighs of [mount] Gennargentu as an impenetrable barrier between us and the south’.

### 2.3.1.1 LANDSCAPE IS A CLOTHED BODY

Whereas the LANDSCAPE IS A BODY metaphor is well known, links with clothing and textiles have not to my knowledge been noticed,<sup>3</sup> but are evidenced in overlap between ‘Landscape, high and low land’ and both 1H01 ‘Textiles’ and 1H02 ‘Clothing’, as shown in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3: Categories suggesting extensions of LANDSCAPE IS A BODY metaphor

Category	Sample OE lexemes	Sample post-OE lexemes
1H01 Textiles	—	<i>comb, knot, needle, patchwork</i>
1H02 Clothing	<i>cnaep</i> ‘buckle, summit’	<i>fent, muffle, pocket, skirt</i>

They are also supported by links between ‘Textiles’ and ‘Land and islands’ (*carpet, patch, ribbon*), as well as with 1A08 ‘Body of water’ (*sheet*), ‘Rivers and streams’ (*thread*), 1A12 ‘Ice’ (*patch*), 1A13 ‘Tides, waves and flooding’ (*frizado*), and 1A15 ‘Geological features’

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<sup>3</sup> The issue is touched on by Porteous, who notes that ‘Clothed bodies are often more alluring than naked ones, just as an intimate, vegetated landscape usually appeals more than the naked expanses of moorland or desert’ (1986: 3), and adds: ‘The landscape may be “clothed” with verdure or snow’ (1986: 5).

(*ground, marble, crystalline*). ‘Clothing’ also has links with ‘Land and islands’ (*apron, belt, gusset*) and ‘Level land and marshes’ (*plateau*), as well as with 1A07 ‘Wild and fertile land’ (*skirt*), ‘Rivers and streams’ (*cascade, waterfall*), 1A10 ‘Sea’ (*sleeve*), 1A11 ‘Lakes and pools’ (*apron, pocket*), 1A13 ‘Tides, waves and flooding’ (*hood, wimple*), 1A15 ‘Geological features’ (*mantle, seam*), and 1A02 ‘Region of the earth’ (*belt*), where OE *gyrdel(s)* ‘girdle’ also has the transferred meaning ‘zone’. Again such links have a long history, and are found in other languages. For instance, OED gives the etymology of *zone* as ‘Latin *zōna*, < Greek *ζώνη* girdle (girdle, zone)’. Evidence of bidirectionality also indicates that the metaphor was well established even in Old English. The primary sense of OE *cnæp* is ‘top, summit (of a mountain, hill)’, with the metaphorical sense attested as a nonce occurrence glossing *fibula* ‘clasp, buckle, brooch’ (DOE, s.v. *cnæp*).

A conceptual link based on the close connection between the body and clothes is readily explicable. The further link with ‘Textiles’ evidenced by the Mapping Metaphor data may be motivated by the prototypical role of textiles as clothing material. It may be significant that links with ‘Clothing’ are found first in the data, followed at a later date by links with ‘Textiles’. I suggest that both represent extensions of the LANDSCAPE IS A BODY metaphor, which is thus even more deeply embedded than previously thought.

### 2.3.2 LANDSCAPE IS A CONTAINER

The container metaphor has been much discussed (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson 2003 [1980]: 29–32; Boot and Pecher 2011), and accounts for links between ‘Landscape, high and low land’ and 3K05 ‘Containers’. Similar links are found with 1G02 ‘Drinks and drinking’, in connection with drinking vessels. Both are shown in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4: Categories providing evidence of LANDSCAPE IS A CONTAINER metaphor

Category	Sample OE lexemes	Sample post-OE lexemes
1G02 Drinks and drinking	—	<i>bowl, cup, punch-bowl</i>
3K05 Containers	<i>byden</i> ‘vessel/cask, valley’	<i>basin, cauldron, funnel, kettle, pan, pocket, tinaja, trough</i>

Again, further examples are provided by place-name evidence, as with the transferred use of OE *canne* ‘jug’ to mean ‘deep valley’ (TDOE, s.v. *canne*).<sup>4</sup> Here too, shape is a motivating factor, with the characteristic shape of receptacles such as *cup, punch-bowl* and *trough* being used metaphorically to describe hollows. However, entailments of the metaphor may extend to the contents of the container, as reflected in transferred senses relating to water features. Other categorial links with ‘Containers’ include ‘Rivers and streams’ (*bowl, spout, well*), ‘Sea’ (*basin, water-way*), and ‘Tides, waves and flooding’ (*gourd, spout*), while the topographical sense of *cauldron* designates ‘A natural formation suggesting a cauldron, in shape, or by the agitation of a contained fluid’ (OED, s.v. *cauldron*, n. 2a).

### 2.3.3 LANDSCAPE IS A BUILDING

Buildings provide the source domain for a range of metaphors. Those where the target is an abstract concept, as with THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS, have received most attention (e.g. Grady 1997; Kövecses 2010a: 136–40). However, buildings also contribute to the conceptualization of physical domains such as landscape, as shown by the categorial links set out in Table 2.5.

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<sup>4</sup> When combined with a term for a spring, however, occurrences of OE *byden* and OE *canne* in place-names may be literal, referring to a spring provided with a drinking-vessel for travellers (cf. Rumble 1989).

Table 2.5: Categories providing evidence of LANDSCAPE IS A BUILDING metaphor

Category	Sample OE lexemes	Sample post-OE lexemes
3B02 Buildings and inhabited places	<i>cofa</i> ‘room, cave’, <i>hrycg</i> ‘ridge, roof’; <i>scylf</i> ‘crag, gable’	<i>bench, cabin, chamber, chimney, floor, mantelshelf, roof, saddle-back, stairway</i>
3M07 Performance arts and film	—	<i>amphitheatre, circus, pit, theatre</i>
3M08 Sport	—	<i>amphitheatre, cirque</i>
3M09 Types of sport	—	<i>pit</i>

Some of the examples show landscape features being conceptualized as parts of a building (*bench, chamber, chimney, floor, mantelshelf, roof, stairway*); in others, the conceptualization is a particular type of building (*amphitheatre, cabin*). Again many are motivated by shape, such that the literal sense of *amphitheatre*, ‘An oval or circular building, with seats rising behind and above each other, around a central open space or arena’, gives rise to the transferred sense ‘A natural situation consisting of a level surrounded in whole or part by rising slopes’ (OED, s.v. *amphitheatre*, 2 and 6). Others are motivated by position, such that *roof* develops a transferred meaning ‘The underside of an overhanging ledge’ from 1963 (OED, s.v. *roof*, n. 4e). Whereas ‘Landscape, high and low land’ is generally the target category, links with ‘Buildings and inhabited places’ are bidirectional in Old English, with *hrycg* ‘ridge’ and *scylf* ‘crag’ being transferred to high features on buildings, while *cofa* ‘room’ develops the meaning ‘cave’. Moreover, the topographical sense of *pit*, recorded from Old English, is transferred to ‘Performance arts and film’ from 1649 (‘The other [comedy] for the Gentlemen oth’ Pit’) (OED, s.v. *pit*, n.<sup>1</sup>, 10a).



### 2.3.4 Other metaphors motivated by shape

As seen above, shape is a major motivating factor for metaphors of landscape. It also provides the motivation for links with other miscellaneous categories, as shown in Table 2.6.

Table 2.6: Other categories with metaphorical links to LANDSCAPE motivated by shape

Category	Sample OE lexemes	Sample post-OE lexemes
1F05 Cultivated plants	—	<i>pepino</i>
1G01 Food and eating	—	<i>kettle, pan, sugar-loaf</i>
1Q01 The Supernatural	—	<i>hoodoo</i>
3C03 Weapons and armour	<i>walu</i> ‘crest of helmet, ridge’	—

As regards the link with 1G01 ‘Food and eating’, the term *sugar-loaf* is recorded from 1422 as ‘A moulded conical mass of hard refined sugar (now rarely made)’, but is transferred to ‘A high conical hill’ from a1691 (OED, s.v. *sugar-loaf*, 1, 2b). As the OED definition indicates, the original referent is now largely obsolete, and indeed the British National Corpus contains only ten occurrences of *sugar loaf* or *sugarloaf*, five of which are names of hills.<sup>5</sup> Here again we see the close connection between Mapping Metaphor data and place-name evidence. So too, OE *walu* ‘crest of helmet’ in 3C03 ‘Weapons and armour’ appears to develop from the ‘Landscape, high and low land’ sense ‘ridge’ attested only in Anglo-Saxon charters and place-names such as Easole and Howell (Smith 1956, ii: 245). Since ‘ridge’ itself instantiates the

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<sup>5</sup> Three others are names of a farm, rock, and tunnel. One refers to a hat, and only one refers to the appearance of an actual sugarloaf.

LANDSCAPE IS A BODY metaphor (see Section 2.3.1), from ‘weal’ in ‘Ill-health’, this means that already in Old English the term had undergone two sequential metaphorical developments.

### 2.3.5 LANDSCAPE IS MOVEMENT

More abstract than the connections seen so far in this section are links with the concept of movement, shown in Table 2.7.

Table 2.7: Categories providing evidence of LANDSCAPE IS MOVEMENT metaphor

Category	Sample OE lexemes	Sample post-OE lexemes
1N04 Rate of movement and swift movement	—	<i>headlong, precipitate, precipitous</i>
1N06 Movement in a specific direction	—	<i>precipitation, volcano, waterfall</i>

The metaphor is also supported by other category links, as between 1N02 ‘Types of movement’ and ‘Rivers and streams’ (*stream, spring, wriggle*), ‘Types of movement’ and ‘Tides, waves and flooding’ (*maelstrom, streaming, swimming, wavy*), 1N04 ‘Rate of movement and swift movement’ and ‘Rivers and streams’ (*spurt, stream, torrent*), and 1N06 ‘Movement in a specific direction’ and ‘Rivers and streams’ (*cascade, disembogue, flood-gate, fountain*). Some instances are difficult to differentiate from polysemy, but there is clear evidence of metaphor when, for instance, a term for a water feature is used in a context that does not involve liquid, as in the 1980 quotation in the OED entry for *waterfall*: ‘The rope ladder..dislodged, waterfalling on to the balcony’.

As with many cognitive metaphors, the potential mapping is only partially exploited. Here the main emphasis is on rapid movement, characteristically downwards.

## 2.4 The role of landscape in the conceptualization of other semantic domains

We now turn to metaphors where ‘Landscape, high and low land’ is primarily the source category. Whereas links in Sections 2.3.1 to 2.3.4 were mainly with concrete items, this section will show links with more abstract concepts. We begin, however, with other areas of the physical world, where ‘Landscape, high and low land’ is both source and target.

### 2.4.1 SEASCAPE/AIRSCAPE IS LANDSCAPE

A close conceptual connection between the physical domains of land, sea, and air is reflected in metaphorical links with 1A13 ‘Tides, waves and flooding’ and 1A28 ‘Atmosphere and weather’. These are shown in Table 2.8.

Table 2.8: Categories reflecting metaphorical connections between land, sea, and air

Category	Sample OE lexemes	Sample post-OE lexemes
1A13 Tides, waves and flooding	<i>hrycg</i> ‘ridge, crest of wave’	<i>ridge, swell, surge, valley, wave</i>
1A28 Atmosphere and weather	—	<i>bank, cloud, ridge, tor</i>
3J04 Navigation	—	<i>valley</i>

‘Landscape, high and low land’ is clearly the source for links with ‘Atmosphere and weather’, with air being described in terms of land. Thus the term *bank*, used of raised ground from c1200, is transferred to a mass of cloud or mist from a1626, while the same sense development is seen in *cloud* itself, recorded with an obsolete meaning ‘mass of rock, hill’

from the Anglo-Saxon period (OE *clud*) to the early fourteenth century, and with the prototypical Present-Day English meaning from then onwards. This is of particular interest as OED doubtfully suggests an obsolete sense ‘?A heavy mass of cloud’ to account for two occurrences of *tor* ‘rocky peak, hill’ in the work of the fourteenth-century *Gawain*-poet, with the caveat ‘(But the sense “rock mass” seems also possible)’. Comparison with the parallel developments of *bank* and *cloud* strongly supports the meaning of *tor* suggested by contextual evidence within the poems.

Some landscape terminology is transferred to both air and sea. The topographical sense of *ridge* is transferred to atmospheric pressure from 1847, but is already applied to the crest of a wave from Old English (*hrycg*). Similar links are seen with ‘Level land and marshes’, where *plain* is used figuratively of the sea from 1566, and of the sky from 1729. Again the motivation is shape, as with *valley*, used of ‘A depression or hollow suggestive of a valley; *esp.* a trough between sea-waves’ from 1845 (OED, s.v. *valley*, n. 3). Here the transfer is bidirectional, since other links with ‘Tides, waves and flooding’ describe land in terms of water. Thus the noun *wave* is recorded in the sense ‘movement in the sea’ from 1526, but is used of a convex strip of land from 1789, while the noun *surge* is applied to a rolling swell of water from 1530, but transferred to undulating hills from 1863.

#### 2.4.2 THE SPIRITUAL WORLD IS THE PHYSICAL WORLD

Not only are other areas of the physical world conceptualized partly in terms of landscape, but so too is the spiritual world. Table 2.9 shows metaphorical links with 1Q06 ‘Hell’.

Table 2.9: Category reflecting HELL IS LANDSCAPE metaphor

Category	Sample OE lexemes	Sample post-OE lexemes
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1Q06 Hell	<i>grund</i> ‘abyss, depths of hell’; <i>næss</i> ‘pit, depths of hell’; <i>neowelnes</i> ‘deep place, depths of hell’	<i>abyss, bisme, subterranean</i>
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Other links representing the same metaphor are found between ‘Hell’ and categories such as ‘Lakes and pools’ (*pit, sink*) and ‘Geological features’ (*sulphurous, subterranean, underworld*). They draw on the well-known GOOD IS UP schema, which is also reflected in links between 1Q05 ‘Heaven’ and categories such as 1A18 ‘Universe and space’ (*heaven, supralunary, supracestrial*), 1A19 ‘Celestial sphere’ (*heaven*), and 1A20 ‘Sky’ (*celestial, empyreal, heavenward*). Although now regarded as metaphorical, these conceptualizations represent an earlier worldview, where heaven and hell were believed to be literally above and below the earth – itself known in Old English as *middangeard* ‘middle dwelling’, from its position between the two.

### 2.4.3 PEOPLE ARE LANDSCAPE

Whereas the metaphors PEOPLE ARE PLANTS and PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS are well known, the Mapping Metaphor data point towards the existence of a further metaphor PEOPLE ARE LANDSCAPE. This is evidenced by links between ‘Landscape, high and low land’ and human behaviour in the post-Old English data only, as set out in Table 2.10.

Table 2.10: Categories reflecting PEOPLE ARE LANDSCAPE metaphor

Category	Sample OE lexemes	Sample post-OE lexemes
1O20 Vigorous action and degrees of violence	—	<i>arduous, precipitously, volcanically, volcano</i>

1O22 Behaviour and conduct	—	<i>abruptness, austere, scenic, transalpine, uplandish</i>
2A22 Truth and falsity	—	<i>hollow, hollowness, ultramontane</i>
2B10 Tastelessness	—	<i>unbene, uplandish, transalpine</i>
2D02 Strong emotion and lack of emotion	—	<i>volcanic, volcano</i>
2D06 Emotional suffering	—	<i>vale, valley</i>
2D14 Pride	—	<i>stey</i>
2D15 Humility	—	<i>humble</i>
2D17 Courage	—	<i>bold</i>
2E03 Willingness and desire	—	<i>voraginous</i>
2E05 Decision-making	—	<i>cave</i>
3A06 Social communication and culture	—	<i>overground, underground</i>
3A07 Solitude and social isolation	—	<i>island, savage</i>
3A09 Social position	—	<i>humble</i>
3D01 Command and control	—	<i>austere, stern, severe</i>
3D03 Politics	—	<i>summit</i>

Although the metaphor is instantiated by (mainly) weak links spread across several categories, these cumulatively make a strong case. ‘Landscape, high and low land’ is the source category for 12 links out of the 16, but the target for links with 2D15 ‘Humility’, 2D17

‘Courage’, 3A09 ‘Social position’, and 3D01 ‘Command and control’. There is also evidence of bidirectionality in 1O22 ‘Behaviour and conduct’, where *austere* is applied to character from the late fourteenth century and to terrain from the late seventeenth.

The links fall into two groups, reflecting a connection with human behaviour on both an individual and a societal level. The former is mostly reflected through links with categories in the External World (1) and the Mental World (2), while the connection with organized group behaviour is reflected in links with the Social World (3). All three examples in 2B10 ‘Tastelessness’, however, represent terms for uncultivated landscape features transferred to designate lack of social refinement.

Taken in conjunction with the metaphors PEOPLE ARE PLANTS and PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, PEOPLE ARE LANDSCAPE may contribute to the ‘Great Chain of Being’ model discussed in previous scholarship (e.g. Lakoff and Turner 1989 160–213; Kövecses 2010a: 152–5). It also provides a context for the contribution of landscape to the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, to which we now turn.

#### 2.4.4 LIFE IS A JOURNEY

Some of the most abstract conceptualizations of landscape are related to the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor. These are shown in Table 2.11.

Table 2.11: Categories reflecting the role of landscape in LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor

Category	Sample OE lexemes	Sample post-OE lexemes
1K01 Existence and its attributes	—	<i>proclivity, pronity, terrain</i>
1K03 Destruction	—	<i>abyss</i>

1K04 Causation	<i>grundweall</i> ‘lowest part of mountain, fundamental’	—
1M08 Suitability of time	—	<i>watershed</i>
1O10 Endeavour	—	<i>uphill</i>
1O11 Difficulty	<i>sticol</i> ‘steep, difficult’	<i>arduous, dike, hill, swamp, uphill</i>
1O16 Prosperity and success	—	<i>high ground</i>
1O17 Disadvantage and harm	—	<i>craggy, precipice, precipitious, volcano</i>
2B02 Enquiry and discovery	—	<i>undermine, digging</i>
2C01 Good	—	<i>crest, summit, pinnacle, up-grade</i>
2C02 Bad	—	<i>downhill</i>

In general, landscape features are conceptualized as positive or negative stages of life according to whether they are easy or difficult to traverse. However, the emphasis tends to be on difficulty and challenge, even as regards apparently complementary pairs of words.

Whereas *uphill* suggests difficulty, *downhill* does not suggest ease, but rather involuntary decline, whether physical, mental, or spiritual. Again the latter relates to the GOOD IS UP schema, as do other examples such as *high ground*, *summit*, *up-grade*, and *valley*.

There is little if any evidence of bidirectionality, although OED lists abstract senses first in its entries for *precipitous*, *proclivity*, and *pronity*. All three have been updated for the third edition, where the structure tends to follow the earliest date of attestation rather than the



order of putative sense development (cf. Allan 2012: 25).<sup>6</sup> In none of the entries do the dates provide a clear steer. Both senses of *precipitous* are recorded in the early seventeenth century, and both senses of *pronity* during the late fifteenth or early sixteenth. Regarding *proclivity*, ‘An inclination toward something (esp. something considered morally wrong)’ appears in 1561 and ‘downward slope’ in 1645, but both meanings are already present in the Latin etymon *prōclīvitās* ‘downward slope, tendency, propensity’.

#### 2.4.5 QUANTITY IS LANDSCAPE

Also highly abstract are links with the concept of quantity, shown in Table 2.12.

Table 2.12: Categories providing evidence of QUANTITY IS LANDSCAPE metaphor

Category	Sample OE lexemes	Sample post-OE lexemes
1L03 Size and spatial extent	—	<i>mountained, mountainous</i>
1P28 Greatness and intensity	—	<i>mountain</i>
1P30 Increase in quantity	—	<i>steepen, steepening</i>
1P33 Decrease in quantity	—	<i>decline, descent, drop-off, precipitous</i>
2F11 Providing and storing	—	<i>mountain</i>

Here the link with downward movement seen in Section 2.3.5 leads to a further link with reduction in quantity, reflected in metaphorical overlap with ‘Decrease in quantity’. However, the negative associations of *decline*, *descent*, and so on are not balanced by correspondingly

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<sup>6</sup> In the second edition, the entry for *proclivity* listed the abstract sense first, but entries for *precipitous* and *pronity* listed the landscape senses first.

positive associations for terms overlapping with ‘Increase in quantity’. Rather, metaphorical uses of *steepen* and *steepening* also have negative associations, as reflected in the following OED quotations:

1909 An argument for the steepening of the death duties was that [etc.]..

1914 The financial demands made upon under-writing members have been very much steepened of recent years.

More neutral is the use of *mountain*, the prototypical term for a large landscape feature, to represent greatness of quantity. This is probably related to the use of *mountained* and *mountainous* to represent large size, one of the main attributes of mountains, reflected in overlap with ‘Size and spatial extent’. The terms are most clearly metaphorical when applied to abstract domains, as in the following OED quotations:

1745 When Giant-Vice and Irreligion rise On mountain’d falsehoods to invade the skies.

a1616 The Dust on antique Time would lye vnswept, And mountainous Error be too highly heapt, For Truth to o’re-peere.

At the same time, since the other main attribute of mountains is height, metaphorical links with ‘Greatness and intensity’ may also be an instantiation of the QUANTITY IS VERTICALITY metaphor discussed by Kövecses (2010a: 187), who takes it to have a metonymic basis. The extended use referring to a surplus of food in 2F11 ‘Providing and storing’ might be taken as polysemy from ‘Greatness and intensity’. However, a direct link with ‘Landscape, high and low land’ is supported by the corresponding use of *lake*, the prototypical term for a large

water feature, to refer to a surplus of drink, as in the 1975 OED quotation (s.v. *lake*, n.<sup>4</sup>):

‘Butter mountains and wine lakes are part of the price which Europe pays for a common agricultural policy’.

#### 2.4.6 SHAPE IS LANDSCAPE

As seen in Section 2.3, shape provides the motivation for many metaphors where ‘Landscape, high and low land’ is the target category. As a source category, ‘Landscape, high and low land’ also has links with 1L04 ‘Shape’ itself, as well as with 1P18 ‘Mathematics’. These links are shown in Table 2.13.

Table 2.13: Categories providing evidence of SHAPE IS LANDSCAPE metaphor

Category	Sample OE lexemes	Sample post-OE lexemes
1L04 Shape	<i>holc</i> ‘hollow, cavity’; <i>hol</i> ‘cave, concave’	<i>cavernous, craggy, peak</i>
1P18 Mathematics	—	<i>polygon, valley</i>

In the examples from ‘Shape’, the term for a landscape feature has been transferred to an abstract shape. In ‘Mathematics’, the term *polygon* is applied to patterned ground from 1913, while conversely the term *valley* is used of a region of a graph shaped like a valley from 1935. Again these data reflect the key role of shape in the human perception of landscape. Although treated separately within this chapter, where the main focus is on metaphorical links between categories or semantic fields, these examples could be alternatively be grouped with the shape-motivated metaphors discussed in Section 2.3, reflecting bidirectional links between the broader conceptual domains of landscape and shape.

### 2.4.7 POSITION IS LANDSCAPE

Besides shape, the other main motivating factor to have emerged is position. This too provides the motivation for links from ‘Landscape, high and low land’ as a source category, as shown in Table 2.14.

Table 2.14: Categories providing evidence of POSITION IS LANDSCAPE metaphor

Category	Sample OE lexemes	Sample post-OE lexemes
1L06 Relative position	—	<i>cavern, caverned, chasmy, hill</i>
1P16 Sequence	—	<i>chasm, chasmy, summity</i>

To illustrate, a couple of OED quotations are as follows:

*a1640* The river is gathered into such a streight..that it seemeth to cavern itself.

*1805* Now the child From light and life is caverned.

Again, broadening out from categories to domains would suggest the existence of bidirectional metaphorical links between landscape and position.

### 2.5 Miscellaneous connections

There remain a few category connections with ‘Landscape, high and low land’ which do not appear to fall within any of the main groupings identified above. These are shown in Table 2.15.

Table 2.15: Categories providing evidence of miscellaneous other metaphorical connections with ‘Landscape, high and low land’

Category	Sample OE lexemes	Sample post-OE lexemes
1F01 Plants	<i>wyrtruma</i> ‘root, foot (of hill)’	<i>pit, root</i>
1J03 Weight, heat and cold	—	<i>chimney, volcano</i>
1J11 Softness	—	<i>soft</i>
1L01 Space	—	<i>chasmy, gulf</i>
1P06 Difference	—	<i>chasm, gap</i>
3G01 Education	—	<i>gulf</i>
3I03 Signs and signals	—	<i>beacon</i>
3I14 Correspondence and telecommunications	—	<i>picture postcard</i>
3M06 Literature	—	<i>hummocky</i>

‘Landscape, high and low land’ is the target category for links with 1J11 ‘Softness’, 3I03 ‘Signs and signals’, 3I14 ‘Correspondence and telecommunications’, and 3M06 ‘Literature’, and the source category for links with 1L01 ‘Space’, 1P06 ‘Difference’, and 3G01 ‘Education’. There are also bidirectional links with 1F01 ‘Plants’ and 1J03 ‘Weight, heat and cold’. Despite the close literal connection between landscape and plants, the semantic development is clearly metaphorical. The ‘Landscape, high and low land’ sense is primary for *pit*, with a transferred sense in relation to plants recorded from 1688 (‘Of a Tree..the Pit or Hole [is] whereat the branches sprout out’) (OED, s.v. *pit*, n.<sup>1</sup> 14a). However, the ‘Plants’ sense is primary for *root*, with a transferred sense in relation to landscape features recorded from a1382 (‘Yc haue 3eue þe lond of Galaad..& þe teermys of cenereth vnto þe see off desert..to þe rootys of þe hul of phasga a3eysn þe eest’) (OED, s.v. *root*, n.<sup>1</sup> 5a). A similar

sense development is evidenced for OE *wytruma* ‘root’, which develops a topographical meaning ‘foot (of hill)’.

Some of the connections might plausibly be associated with metaphors discussed elsewhere in this chapter. For instance, the metaphorical use of *chimney* in ‘Weight, heat and cold’ develops an attribute from the LANDSCAPE IS A BUILDING metaphor (Section 2.3.3), while the highly abstract links with 1L01 ‘Space’ abut on both QUANTITY IS LANDSCAPE (Section 2.4.5) and SHAPE IS LANDSCAPE (Section 2.4.6), and possibly also on POSITION IS LANDSCAPE (Section 2.4.7). Like so many other aspects of linguistics, metaphors have fuzzy edges, and it may be counter-productive to attempt to pin them down too closely.

## 2.6 Conclusion

‘Landscape, high and low land’ is generally the target category for metaphorical links with other physical categories in the External World (1), but the source category for links with categories in the Mental World (2) and the Social World (3), as well as with non-physical categories in the External World. As a target category, the main motivations are shape and position, with the predominant metaphors being LANDSCAPE IS A BODY, LANDSCAPE IS A CONTAINER, LANDSCAPE IS A BUILDING, and LANDSCAPE IS MOVEMENT. Particularly noteworthy are the links with clothing and textiles, which support an extended metaphor LANDSCAPE IS A CLOTHED BODY. As a source category, shape and position are still important but less ubiquitous motivations. The extent and complexity of the contribution of landscape to the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor are striking, especially in view of the range of categories involved. Even more remarkable is the way in which the PEOPLE ARE LANDSCAPE metaphor is evidenced by a large number of disparate links, most of which are individually weak. Indeed, a recurrent theme throughout this chapter is that individual metaphors are instantiated not only by links between two categories, nor even between groups of adjacent categories, but

between a wide variety of sources and targets. It is beginning to become clear that domains do not map directly onto categories or semantic fields, however broadly these are interpreted.

